

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMCONSUL MILAN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 3107

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: CRITIQUE OF ALLIANCES WITH THE COMMUNISTS

1. COMMENTARY ENTITLED "STRANGE ALLIANCES" WRITTEN UNDER THE PRESTIGIOUS PSEUDONYM OF "TACITO" HAS RECEIVED WIDE ATTENTION FOR ITS INCISIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PITFALLS OF ALLIANCES WITH COMMUNISTS BY DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. THE EDITORIAL APPEARED IN THE NEWSPAER "YA" (CATHOLIC INDEPENDENT) APRIL 2, A FEW DAYS FOLLOWING THE FORMATION OF THE "COORDINACION DEMOCRATICA" AND ON THE EVE OF THE HOLDING OF NATIONAL MEETING OF THE LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (RUIZ GIMENEZ) AND THE "FEDERACION DEMOCRATICA POPULAR" (GIL ROBLES). IN RETROSPECT, THE EDITORIAL WAS A FOREWARING BY LEADING FIGURES WHO MAKE UP THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC-ORIENTED GROUP THAT THEY WOULD NOT FOLLOW RUIZ GIMENEZ INTO ANY FORM, HOWEVER LIMITED, OF POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS. SINCE THEIR COMMENTS HAVE APPLICABILITY ON THE WIDER EUROPEAN SCENE, WE TRANSMIT BELOW A FULL TRANSLATION OF ALMOST THE ENTIRE EDITORIAL.

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BEGIN TEXT: THE LEVELS ACHIEVED BY SPANISH SOCIETY

AS WELL AS THE NATURAL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE SAME GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND CULTURAL SPACE MAKE UNVIABLE ANY SOLUTION WHICH IS NOT A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM TO FUNCTION IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE LARGE ORGANIZATIONS OR POLITICAL PARTIES OF AN UNEQUIVOCALLY DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER WHICH TRANSCEND THE MULTIPLE GROUPS WHICH LOGICALLY ARISE IN THE MOMENT OF TRANSITION AS A REACTION TO THE LONG FAST OF SO MANY YEARS. THIS PROCESS OF INTEGRATION REQUIRES AHIGH DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE INITIAL PROJECTS OF EACH GROUP AND THE OVERCOMING OF ACCIDENTAL AND PERSONALISTIC DIFFERENCES IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE HIGHER UNITY WITHOUT NATURALLY FALLING INTO THE CONFUSION OR THE TRAP OF COMBINING RADICALLY DISTINCT IDEOLOGIES.

THE PROBLEM HAS A SPECIAL SHARPNESS WHEN ONE OF THE FORCES IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY INASMUCH AS ITS IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS PREVENT IT FROM LOYAL COLLABORATION WITH THE OTHER PARTIES. AS THE SOC-CALLED CONSCIENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS IT CANNOT ACCEPT OTHER AGREEMENTS THAN THOSE WHICH ARE NECESSARY STEPS IN THE CONQUEST, INEVITABLE IN THEIR VIEW, OF TOTAL POWER WITH WHICH TO MODIFY THE WORLD IN A DEFINITIVE AND RADICAL DIRECTION. THEY ARE OBLIGED, THEREFORE, ACTING FROM THEIR SUPERIOR STANDPOINT, NOT TO RESPECT AGREEMENTS IF IN A LATER STEP THEY OBSTRUCT THIS UNHALTING MARCH TOWARDS WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE FUTURE. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES NECESSARILY ARE LOOKING FOR THE IMPLANTATION OF MARXISM/LENINISM, THE DESTRUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY-- BECAUSE THEY ARE ABSOLUTELY ATHEISTIC-- AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POPULAR DEMOCRACY. AS CAN BE PROVEN BY LOOKING AT THE CURRENT EUROPEAN REALITY, SUCH AN OUTCOME ENDS UP IN THE REDUCTION OF FREEDOMS, THE PREDOMINANCE OF MATERIALISM OVER HUMANISM, OF THE GROUP OVER THE RIGHTS OF THE HUMAN PERSON, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-DEMOCRATIC, OLIGARCHIC REGIME. NONETHELESS, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS BETTER TO RECOGNIZE AND ADMIT THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS AN EXISTING REALITY THAN TO LET IT MANEUVER FROM CLANDESTINITY. ON THE BASIS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC POSITIONS WE BELIEVE THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM PARTICIPATION

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IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS ALTHOUGH IT SHOULD NATURALLY BE OBLIGATED, AS ALL THE OTHER PARTIES, TO ACCEPT THE NORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLAY WHICH HAVE TO BE CLEARLY ESTABLISHED. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE THING THAT SHOULD NOT BE DONE BY IDEOLOGIES WHICH DIVERGE FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS TO DEFEND IT OR MAKE ALLIANCES WITH IT.

TO CONVERT ONESELF INTO THE DEFENDER OF THE

COMMUNIST PARTY IS TERRIBLE INGENUOUSNESS. IT NEITHER NEEDS DEFENDERS, ALTHOUGH IT LOOKS FOR THEM, NOR DOES IT EVER PAY FOR SUCH DEFENSE. TO CONDITION ONE'S OWN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS TO THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS IMPROPER FOR A SUBSTANTIVE IDEOLOGY AND TESTIFIES TO A SERIOUS LACK OF PERSONALITY AND SECURITY. IT IS MERELY THE FRUIT OF CONSTANT COERCION WHICH THE COMMUNIST PARTY EXERCISES ON THE OTHER PARTIES. FURTHERMORE, IT IS AN ATTITUDE WITHOUT THE LEAST RECIPROCITY. NEVER DOES THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONDITION ITS ACTIVITY ON THE LEGITIMIZATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, LET ALONE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC OR LIBERAL PARTIES. ON THE CONTRARY, THERE IS NOT A SINGLE CASE OF A COUNTRY IN WHICH THE PARTY COMMUNIST GOVERNS WHICH HAS ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF THESE PARTIES. IF THEY EXISTED WHEN THE COMMUNISTS OBTAINED POWER, THEY HAVE DISAPPEARED. THIS COMES AS NO SURPRISE BUT IS A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF DOCTRINE.

TO ALIGN ONESELF WITH IT (THE COMMUNIST PARTY) IS TO BEGIN TO CONSTRUCT THE ROAD FOR ONE'S OWN DESTRUCTION. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS TRYING INITIALLY AN ALLIANCE WITH THE GROUPS TO ITS RIGHT BECAUSE IT OBTAINS TWO OBJECTIVES IN THIS FASHION: (A) TO COVER ITSELF WITH OUTSIDE RESPECTABILITY TO DIMINISH THE FEAR IN LARGE SECTORS OF THE COUNTRY WHICH ITS DOCTRINE ENGENDERS. APPEARING TOGETHER WITH OTHER IDEOLOGIES, IT DIMINISHES ITS APPEARANCE OF A THREAT WITHOUT GIVING UP ITS TRUE OBJECTIVES AND WITHOUT ANY RISK OF LOSING FACE BECAUSE IT KNOWS IT IS GOING TO DO WITHOUT THIS COOPERATION IN THE MOMENT WHICH IT JUDGES CONVENIENT.

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE INITIAL ALLIANCES, IT IS NOT TROUBLED TO ACCEPT DIFFICULT CONDITIONS WHICH IT WILL
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NOT FULFILL AS EXPECTED NOR TO CARRY OUT ACTIVITIES WHICH DO NOT AGREE WITH ITS DOCTRINE. AT THIS JUNCTURE TACTICS HAVE PRIORITY OVER DOCTRINE.

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HISTORY SHOWS WHAT HAS BEEN THE DESTINY OF ITS ALLIES. THE ONES WHO GAVE SUFFERED THE MOST HAVE NATURALLY BEEN THE CLOSEST: THE SOCIALIST PARTIES. THIS IS WELL KNOWN BY THE SOCIALIST PARTIES OF THE COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO THE SO-CALLED POPULAR DEMOCRACIES: GERMANY, AUSTRIA, THE SCANDANAVIAN COUNTRIES, WHICH ARE CAREFUL TO AVOID THESE ALLIANCES. SPANIARDS, WHO HAVE A SAD AND PECULAR HISTORY, SHOULD NOT FORGET IT.

BUT FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC, OR LIBERAL GROUPS TO FALL INTO THE SAME ERROR IS ALL THE SAME MOST INEXPLICABLE. IT IS TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE MOST OPPOSED TO THEIR IDEOLOGIES, TO CONFUSE THEIR FOLLOWERS AND TO WORK, NOT SO THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS RECOGNIZED, BUT SO THAT IT ACHIEVES POWER BY THE PATH WHICH IT CONSIDERS CONVENIENT, NOT BY THE BALLOT BOX BUT BY A MORE ANTI-DECMOCRATIC SYSTEM: THE GOVT OF COALITION AGREED UPON AT THE MARGIN OF THE PEOPLE BY SMALL ELITE GROUPS WHICH, AT WHATEVER THE COSTS, WANT TO BE INCLUDED.

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IT IS TIME, THEREFORE, THAT, FACED WITH FREE ELECTIONS, GROUPS WITH THE SAME IDELOGY OR CLOSE IDEOLOGIES SHOULD FORM LARGE PARTIES AND ALLIANCES BUT NOT BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE ABSOLUTELY DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES. LET THE SOCIALISTS UNITE AMONG THEMSELVES. LET A LARGE PARTY BE FORMED WHICH GATHERS TOGETHER THE SOCIAL DEMCOCRATIC GROUPS AND CHRISTIAN

DEMOCRATS. LET THE LIBERALS JOIN TOGETHER OR WITH SOME
OF THE AFOREMENTIONED. BUT LET US LEAVE TO ACT ALONE ALL
THOSE LIKE THE COMMUNISTS AND OTHERS IN THE EXTREMES IN
WHOSE DEMOCRATIC VOCATION IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE
CONFIDENCE. IN THIS MANNER, WE CAN KNOW WITHOUT ANY
SHADOW OF A DOUBT WHAT VOTES THEY HAVE AND THEY ARE
DENIED THEREBY THE POSSIBILITY OF ASSUMING A ROLE AND A
REPRESENTATION WHICH DOESN'T CORRESPOND TO THEM. END TEXT.

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